

Printed for A. Baldwin and M.G. at Essenstreet-Gate, 1711.



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### Sher Decordation Argument, nor tale mit Rela

S little as I love Scandal, whatever fide it comes from, I have prevail'd with my Telf. in Obedience to your Commands, to run over the bundle you fent me; and knowing You to be a person of that Integrity and Honour, as to have more regard to Truth than Party, I will without more Ceremony give you my Thoughts as you defire, upon such Parts of them as relate to the Management of the War, which I hope you will find not to be the less true or just for the Haste they are writ in; for plain Truths need no Dilguile; Fiction and Ornament are of no advantage, but when they ferve a Caule that can't bear to be feen in its true Light. This I hope will be excuse enough, for the many Marks of Hafte and Negligence you will meet with in this long Letter.

You won't expect I should consider each of these Papers by themselves, that would be giving too much trouble to one, who, I know, is too good a Judge to think them of so much consequence; The Letter to the Examiner is a mere Declama ion, and consider'd in that view is a pretty imart Performance, and you may read it to be entertain'd, but not to be inform'd; there is some Fire and Imagination, but no Reasoning, Judgment or Experience, plain Marks of a young Writer, who may in time ripen into something considerable, and cone up to the Author of Arlus and Odolphus, which is the Fiction of a more able Writer, and has the beauties of

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s tolerable Romance: And to shew the Skill of the Aushore is very happily call'd a Secret History; which is Cover for all the Lies the Father of them can invent fince that Name immediately forbids all asking of Queflions: for were the Proofs to be produc'd, where would he the Secret ? I can't fay . I was fo well pleas'd with Sir Themas, which I found so dull and tedious, twas impossible to get thro' it : There is, by all I could fee. neithet Decorum nor Argument, nor Life in it; the dusber thews he was fadly put to it for Matter, when he is forced, to make up his Invective, to take in the Compass of 25 Years, the fatal Period fome among us are fo angry with, that is 18 more, than the present Change is concern'd in ; for 'tis but four Years at most, that his Principals pretend to think (for think they don't as I shall shew you by and by) that the Management of Affairs has been wrong. In thort, 'tis a ftupid unnatural Piece, and what made me more fick of it, I have been told, 'tis as ungrateful as 'tis fenfeless, writ by a Man, who owes his bread to thole, whom he has with fo much Venome drawn his Pen against. I don't know whether you will agree with me, when I tell you . I think the Letter from a Foreign Minister the most artful Performance of them all; the rek feem to be the Works of under Agents, from Directions and Hints mark'd out for them: But this I take to be the Work of the chief Operator himself; who, if he was not at leifure to write more largely, has in this short Piece sufficiently thewn, what a right he has to the Effeem the World have long had for him; there being in it some quick and crafty Turns, and an affected appearance of Fairnels, with which he gilds over the blackeft Poifon of Malice and Invention. You'll fee I use that last word in the modern Senie of it; and in my Mind the whole Letter is well-enough contrived, to answer its defign; which plainly is, to please Friends, take off Enemies; amuse and quiet all, who are not acquainted with affairs, nor enter into Parties, but by the new Scheme might be apt to be alarm'd. Faults on Both fides has, to my thinking,

a good deal of plain common Sense in it, which experience has all along justify d, and I dare say always will. And common sense at this time of Day, I take to be a great Commendation to a Paper, and that this Writer seldem loses sight of, except where his Cause obliges him to quit it; which it does in several places, but no where more than where he speaks of Credit, all which is as mean, as the lare Essay upon that Subject; and that I take to be the most affected uncommon mysterious Piece of Nonsense, even this wonderful Year

has produc'd.

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Taking thefe Papers together, there is one thing in them, for which I mightily admire the able Archit & under whom they have all been form'd; and that is the Difference of Spirit one lees in them, according to the feveral forts of Readers they are intended to impose on. On makes great Court to the Teries, another is to gain the Whigi, or divide them at least, others pretend mightily to Moderation; to catch the Men that have Honesty and Temper, and have not engag'd far in either Party, others feem chiefly defign'd to impole on Foreigners, and make them believe all we have been doing thele fix Months, is only a perforal Bufinels, that can have no influence on the publick; that therefore the Allies, particularly the Duteb, and the Houle of Maninover, should not be alarmed to see those Men disgracid, who, whatever other Faults they may have, never lay under the suspicion of favouring Popery and France; but have been ever true to the Revolution : have always gone into Measures for a vigorous Prosecution of the War, and have constantly been it uggling to gain new Securities for the Delence of the Protestant Successi n.

The various Shapes of this Posture-Master in Postucks, make this bundle of Papers, methinks, if you will pardon the Comparison, not much unlike a Pedler's Rare-Show, in which there is a great Number of very different Figures, all in Motion at once; which the gaping spectators think there is some strange Magick in, and that the Spring of action is in themselves; when in

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Truth they are nothing but the Pedler's Engines, mov'd all by one and the same secret Hand, and all contrivid for the same End. to delude and cheat the Multitude. And what is still more surprizing, this great Master himfelf has in his own Person acted, and that at the same time, all the different Parts, which his Tools in their Writings have but copy'd from him. But whatever various Figures these Engines of his affect to move in, and whatever different ways they take, they all make to the same End, and agree in those parts, of which you desire my Opinion, I mean in censuring the Management of the War, and endeavouring to ruin the Reputation of those, who have been hitherto the chief Directors of it. Upon which Head all they say, may be reduced to these four Points.

If. That a good Peace might have been , had at the

end of the Ramellies Campaign.

adly. That the War in Spain has been shamefully neglected, the the Rec very of that Kingdom was the chief thing we proposed by entring into the War.

3dly. That pulling the War in Flanders was pulling it in the wrong place, France being covered on that fide

with fo ftrong a Frontier.

of Marleborough has unnecessarily prolong the War for

his own Interest.

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Now if it can be shewn, that these terrible Accusations are not only salse in themselves, but certainly known to be so by the Authors of them, I leave it to you, to consider, what Regard ought to be had to such Men, or what Treatment they deserve, who have so grossy imposed upon the Nation, to the apparent Hazard of its Sasety, and of losing all the Fruits we might hope for, from a War, that has been hitherto conducted with so much Glory and Success.

To clear these great Points, we are desir'd, it seems, to go no farther back than the four last Years at' most; in truth 'tis not much above three that there is any Dispute about: "All then, all is allow'd to have gone well

Firft, They tell us, a Good Peace might have been had

the End of the Ramellies Campaign.

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Now to decide this Question, we must first settle what Good Peace is; and in order to that must consider. what it was we went into the War for. No body wants to be told, that this was chiefly to obtain these two Ends, the Restitution of the Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria, and the procuring of a good Barrier eainst France on the fide of the Netberlands. Without which two points there can be no Security for Great Britain, that their best Trade will not be loft, and with it their Religion and Government, and every thing that is dear to them, for we should every Minute be in danger of having the Bigotry, Slavery and Poverty of France forc'd upon us, by the exorbitant Power of that nost arbitrary Prince, if he should be suffered to frengthen himself with the Addition of that vaft Monarchy. who was before much too great for his Neighbours; to fay nothing of the Safety of the Dutch, or the Liberty of Europe; the last of which most of us, I fear, have little or no benfe of; and for the Safety of the Dureb, fo fatal a Delufion has polleft many of us, that one may every day meet with Mens who are filly enough to with against it. Now the Spanish Monarchy, the Restitution of which is the first Article of the Grand Albance, 15 KROUN

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known by every body to confift, befides the Spanish No sherlands of thefe two great Parts, of Spain and the In dies, and of Milan, Naples and Sicily, with Sardinia, and the adjacent Isles. And a good Barrier against France means at least a better than the Dutch had before ; which by the Experience of fifty Years has been found to h much too weak for so large a Frontier; the Spanif Flan deri and its Capital City Gand, having in truth n Cover at all; and Brabans but a very poor one; while the French being incire Mafters of the Lys and Sebelde both Provinces lie expos'd to their lavations. Look but on fome large Maps of these Provinces, fuch as haw been printed of late Years, and your own Eves wil presently convince you of the Truth of this. But if the Restitution and this Barrier were thought necessary at ou ent'ring into the War, no body, I prefume, will far they are less necessary now, when fo much more ha been done to gain these Ends, than any body at the Be ginning could ever hope to fee. And if thefetwo point are necessary, then no Peace without them can be agoo Peace. Let us then compare this good Peace with wha the French offer'd at the end of the Ramellies Campaign which is to far from being a Secret, that the Letter written to the Maritime Powers by the Elector of Bau who was employ'd by the King of France to make the first Overture, were immediately communicated all the Allies, and by their Confent made publick: An who-ever will be at the pains to look back to the News papers, and Monthly Accounts of that time, or will con fuit even the common Yearly Collections, will fee ther is no Mystery in the Whole of that affair; which thort, is no more than this, that the French offer'd t give up to the Allies, which of thefe two they hik'd bef either Spain and the Indies; or Milan, Naples and Sigil &c. Which Offer was unanimously rejected.

I suppose, there is no need of proving, that the A lies ought not to have accepted either part of this A ternative, it being so thort of what upon our Ent'rancinto the War was thought necessary. To have been con

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tent with a Moiety of what we went into the War fors. efter to many Successes, and not a few furprizingly greats would have rend'red us inexcufable to all posterity; and some body, who, we were now told, prolongs the War, would have been faid to have been well paid for fuch Peace; 'twould have been in the Language of the Fac ction, a plain Case, we are fold to France, and nothing less than his Head could have atton'd for it. But inflead of proving the absurdity of accepting such a Peace. I shall shew you rather, what to every body is not so plain; and that is, that the French were not fincere; they meant nothing by their Offer but to amuse the Allies, and knew, they could not all agree to accept either part of the Alternative, and that England and Holland without the Emperor could not take Spain and the Indies, were they never to much inclined to it. For had the Allies hearken'd to this proposal, it had been in the power of the French to have clos'd with which they wou'd. Now 'tis easy to see what this must have ended in : For in such a Partition, there is no doubt, but as the Dutch and we should have been for Spain and the Indies the Emperor would have made the other part his Choice, which is evidently best for him. Which part now of the Allies in this Division would France be most willing to comply with? or in other Words, which part of the Monarchy would they chule of the two to quit ! A Man muft be blind not to fee, that the part the Emperor would like best to have, the same France would like best to part with : Behold then the necessary Confequence of heark ning to fuch Terms; the Confederacy broken, and the Maritime powers left to thift for themselves, without being able to obtain either of the parts, when they ought to be content, according to the Terms of the Grand Alliance, with nothing less than both.

Who now, I would fain know, have most Reason to complain that these Offers were rejected, the people of London or Vienna? They who might have had the part they had most, mind to, if they would have abandon'd their Allies, or we, who tis certain, besses the Infa-

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my of fo bafe an Action, could have had nothing? Had the Writers, who are so able at making Something out of Nothing, had their Lot in Austrian Ground, what a Field had there been for them? What rare Matter to thew their Skill in? What specious pretences, without the help of Secret Hiftory, to give out, that the Emperor was ill advis'd? What! reject so advantagious an Offer. by which to great an addition of real Strength would have been made to the House of Aufria, and that at a Time, when they were to unable to carry on the WAR when the PEOPLE have been exhausted with continual Wars for more than Thirty Years! when the Malecontents are at the Gates of the Capital! When the King of Sweden infults in that outrageous manner, the Imperial Dignity, and every Minute threatens an Invasion! Is that a Time to reject so good a Peace and hazard the Safety of the Empire in Complement to the Maritime Powers? What wicked Counfellors must these be, who can advise at this rate? Is it not plain they are falle, and in some other Interest, or that they mind nothing else but making their own Fortunes, when they act to manifestly against the Welfare and Honour of the Imperial Family, and thew they have no Regard to the Safety even of the Empire? Would not this be the Language of the Paction, if the Scene were chang'd from London to Vienna? And yet we don't hear. that either the Emperor or his people, have hitherto thought it any Crime in the Ministers, who would not hearken to those Terms; instead of that, all the world think it much for their Honour, that they have appear'd true to themselves, and faithful to their Allies, in rejecting to pitiful and infecure a Peace.

And is not this a Reproach to us, who suffer our selves to be deluded by such vile Imposters, who would per-swade us out of our senses, that half the Spanish Monarchy is as good as the whole, and that Nothing is as good as Half. For I have shewn you, that one Half only was offer'd,

offer'd, and that even that could not be had. It must sure, to all Thinking Men, be very surprizing, that we only of all the Allies shou'd complain that this ridiculous Offer of the French was rejected, when we of all of them have most reason to be pleased with it: There must needs be some Secret in it above the reach of common sense, that all of a sudden this shou'd be made a Capital Crime in our Ministers, their not doing Three Years ago that, which if they had done, we should all before now have thought they deserved to lose their Heads for.

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I believe you begin to be tir'd with this Article, and would be content I should say no more in so plain a Case, after such a Discovery of the Impudence of these State Mountebanks, who would have perswaded us, that we were dangerously ill, when we saw and felt our selves to be very well; and that we were all undone, if we did not leave the skilful and able Hands we had long us'd with so much Success, to try their boasted Medicines, when we were not in the least want of them. No body, if you will believe them, have such universal Remedies for all the Evils of the State as they; and under this popular Pretence of curing the Nation, they take all the pains they can to poison it; of which I have already given you one Example; you shall have more in what follows.

But before I dismiss this Subject, I must beg leave to observe one thing farther, which is of too much moment to be past over; and that is, That they who have done their Country so much Service in rejecting this Offer from the French, would have done it still much greater, could they have prevented any Regard being given to it. For the the refusing these Terms could do no harm, the hearkning to them I will shew you did a great deal. The Inclination some people of the same Complexion with the Author of the Secret History, expressed to come to a Treaty with the French upon the Terms offer'd, rais'd in the Imperial Court a great Jealousy; that the Maitime Powers were tampering with France, and making

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Terms for themselves, to which the Interest of the House of Auftria was to be facrific'd : This put that Court upon Measures that had a fatal Influence on the next Campaign, and occasion'd the two most unfortunate Events that have happen'd all this War. First, This Suspicion made them begin and conclude a Treaty with the French for evacuating the Milanele, without the privity of England and Holland, who did not know one Word of the Matter. And what do you think was the Consequence of this? Why, it gave the French an Opportunity of lending immediately into Spain a great Body of good Veteran Troops; and 'tis to this Reinforces ment fent the Duke of Anjou, that we owe the loss of the Battle of Almanza, which prov'd fo faral to our Affairs on that Side; if those Troops had not joyn'd, we had been Superior to the Enemy, and that Battle had either not been fought, or it had been won, and Spain with it, confidering the ill Condition of the Duke of Anjou's Affairs were then in; and the true Realon we ventur'd that Battle, was to prevent the Junction, which we did not know, or at least did not believe, was made at the Time we fought; a mistake, we may think, very easily made in Spain, when 'tis known, we owe the Victory of Ramellies to the French making the very fame Mistake in Flanders, where they thought the English had not at that time joyn'd the Confederate Army, and reckon'd for ce tain that the Danes at least, neither had nor could : And this Persuasion made them venture a Battle, which the French have so much reason to remember, without waiting for a confiderable Body of Troops, that were coming to them from the Rhine, the Head of which were actually at Namur, when Monfieur Filteroy began his March towards the Confederates. Bu to return, 'tis plain the French had not gain'd the bat tle of Almanza without that Reinforcement from Italy and even with it, tho the battle was fought in April and our Army was in a manner ruin'd by that blow, all they did that Year, was only to take Lerida. But that Reinforcement could not have been fent, had not the Secret

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Secret Treaty for the Evacuation of the Milanele been made; and the Treaty had not been made, had not the lealoufy rais'd in the Imperial Court, by the Inclination some People, express'd to hearken to the Offer of the French, made them refolve upon fecuring fomething for themselves. And the same Jealousy put them upon taking another Step, no less prejudicial to the common Caule; and that was the Expedition to Naples, which they could not be prevail'd with to defer upon the repeated and most pressing Instances that the Maritime Powers made to them by their Ministers, both at Vienna and haly. And the Confequence of the Expedition was, that it not only diverted a great part of the Troops, that were to execute the project on Toulon, but retarded for a confiderable time the March of the reft; and this Loss of Time, & lessening of their Numbers, feem to have been the chief Occasions of the Milcarriage of that glorious Enterprize. Nothing made the Imperial Court to obstinately bent on that unhappy Expedition, but the fears they had, that Naples as well as Milan, would at the Hague be given up to facilitate a Peace, which they were refolv'd to prevent, by getting Possession as soon as they could. This is all we have got by heark'ning to the fe Offers, which 'tis now thought a great Crime we did not close with; the Loss of the Battle of Almanza, and the Miscarriage of the Project on Toulon, the greatest, most important, best concerted Enterprize that was ever entred on. And both thefe Misfortunes had in all Probability been prevented, had the Offers of the French been roundly rejected at the first, and no Occasion of Jealou y had, by listning to them, been given the Imperial Court. This is all plain naked Truth and Fact, which thefe Writers, or those at least that dictate to them, know as certainly, as they do, that Two and Two make Four; and if they have any Modelty, they will bluth when you let them fee their Inventions thus expos'd. w, all t that

After laying to much of that Part of the Offer the French made, which concerns the Partition they proposed of the spanife Monarchy, which we ought not to have accepted if we could, and could not if we would; there is no need of telling you, what Barrier was offer'd for the Mesherlands, which the Dutch were most concern'd in, who don't use to neglect good Offers to come at Peace, if we may believe the Faction, who have for a long time pretended to fear nothing so much, as their quitting the Alliance for their own leparate Interest. the noble Firmnels they have snewn in adhering to it, till Terms may be had to the Satisfaction of all Parties, is by their ill deligning Politicians, who can take every thing by a wrong Handle, imputed to them for a Crime; a Crime perhaps, that they may not be guilty of much longer; or if they are, 'tis not for want of some Mens taking the most effectual Methods to cure them of a Fault, which I don't remember they were ever before blam'd

That this is the whole Truth of this Matter, that thefe and no other, were the Offers the French made after the Ramellies Campaign; I will give you, besides those already hinted at one Plain authentick Proof, which is as good as a thousand Demonstrations, and that is a Letter of the French King to the Pope, on this Subject, write in the following Spring, when all Thoughts of Peace were at an end, and a new Campaign was entring

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This Letter may be found in the Mercure Historique & Politique, Iont. 43 pag. 33. and here follows a Translation of it.

# LETTER of the King of France to the Pope.

Dated at Verfailles, 15 Feb. 1707.

THE Care which your Holiness continues to take for procuring the Peace of Europe, is always equally agreeable to us. We have nothing more at Heart than to second your pted

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your Endeaugues, and we wou'd even prevent you in any thing we cou'd do to make them effectual. At it was not our Fault that the War was begun, fo we fall feek Occafiont to end it, by the most ready and easy Methods. Tour Hofinels has been inform'd, shat we have already made frequent Advances sa come to fo wholefome an End. Is can be attributed only to the Misfortune of the Times, that Catholick Princes, fruck with a Fear of diffleafing their Allies, Shou'd yes refuse to bear the boly Enbortations of the Vicar of Fesas Christ. When we left it so the Arbitration of your Holinels to facisfy the Rights, and Demands of the Emperor, by a valuable Compensation, upon some parts of the Spanish Monarchy : The Ministry of your Holiness were charg'd with the Care of making the Proposal of it to that Prince But with what Haughsinefs did be refest is! Having faid Things exerbisans, and infolently demanded that our Grand fon Should be recall'd. Who cou'd have thought, most boly Father, that be wou'd bave made fo arregant a Return to an Infalsed King, to a Minister of your Holines, and to our Love of Peace? For the Conjuncture, far from being favourable to the House of Au-Atria, feem'd then to threaten it, by the Superiority of our Forces, and by our gaining the Battle of Castano. But God. who is the Mafter of Events, chang'd the Posture of our Afs fairs. Tet tho' we were employ'd with the Cares of repairing our Loffes, we bad ftill in our Minds the Idea we bad conceiv'd of Peace, at the time even of our greatest Profperity. We renew'd to Holland the Offer of a Barrier for their State, and of the Security demanded for their Trade; referving it still to our felves to treat with the Emperor about a Compensation. Propositions fo reasonable were again rejected by the Intrigues of that Party, which had thew'd it felf averse to the Advancement of our Grandfon : And then we employ'd all our Thoughts to increase our Preparations for a War, which had been violently and unjuftly declar'd againft m. Nevertheless as it becomes us to be obedient to the pions

Revertheless as it becomes us to be obedient to the prome Exportations of your Holiness: And to the End that our Enemies may have no presence to impute to us the Loss of so much Obristian Blood, as is already spite, and now going

to be let out, we will give your Holiness a plain and frank Account of the Disposition we are in for Peace. We will therefore acquaint your Holiness, that the King our Grandson bas intrusted to with full Power to convey the Arch-Duke a Part of those Estates that compose the Spanish Monarchy. The Gatbolick King has the Hearts of the true Spaniards, and it content to reign over them.

It only depends therefore on the Emperor to explain bimfelf at this time, who may have, if he pleases, for ever reunited to his family. The Milanese, Naples, and Sicily, with the other Islands belonging to Spain, that are situate

in the Mediterranean Sea.

We should easily agree about a Barrier for the Republick of the united Provinces: And the Two pretences for she War, being thus removed, is wou'd not be difficult to put an End to these Missortunes, which Europe has been so long oppress'd with.

We pray God that be will preferve your Holiness a great

many Tears in the Government of bk Church.

Your Devout Sono
the King of France
and Navarre,

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I shall leave it to your self to make the Reflections which naturally arise from this Letter; and having thus plainly shewn you how groundless the first Complaint of the e Writers is I shall endeavour to prove to you with the same Clearness, that there is as little Ground for the next, which is this:

2. That the War in Spain has been thamefully neglected, tho' the Recovery of that Kingdom was the chief

thing we propos'd by entring into the War.

This is the most plausible of all their Complaints, and yet I doubt not but I shall easily convince you, that it has, if possible, less some in it than any of the rest. We that

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hat live at home have for the most Part, no other War o judge of Affairs abroad, but by Events; and things aving succeeded but ill on the Side of Spain, or at le ery thort of the Expectations we were fill'd with, that Revolution there might be compass'd with as little Trouble as it was here, we readily give into any infinuations or Surmifes, be they never to groundless or extravagant, that impute the Event we did not expect to ill Conduct or Milmanagement; 'cis the Nature of Mankind, they would fain be knowing, or judging at leaft, whether they know or not, which makes them steh at every Shadow of a Reafon, to account for things, especially when they don't go to their Mind they take for granted, wherever there is want of Sucels, there is a Fault; and tis some Amends they fancy for a Disappointment, if they can lay the Blame some where, no matter where: "Tis this Humour makes this Complaint to popular; and when the Faction has gis ven out that the War in Spain has been neglected. affly believ'd by those that know no better : but a very little Examination will clear up this Matter to the meanest Understanding.

This Complaint must mean one of thefe two Things: either that the Parliament has not been mov'd to make sufficient Provision for the War in Spain, or that the Provision made by Par imment has been milapply'd and that either here at home, or by the who have commanded the Forces that have been fent thither. If the Parliament was not moved to make fufficient Provision for the War in Speins or there was any Neglect here omes from, to thew they had no Part in the Management they now complain of, or elfe they will come themselves into some Pare of the blame; unless it can be proved that they made proper Remonstrances against the Manner in which this War was carried on. If the ngled was not here but in Spain, if they milapply'd the at it Money, and return'd falle Musters, or did not manage the Troops they had to the best Advantage, let those who

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who were entrusted with the Command there look to that. 'Tis a pretty great Presumption, there was no Fault in what was to be done here at home, that the who in that Case had most Reason to complain, have been fo filent, tho' it so highly concern'd them, for their own Honour, to remove the Blame of our ill Suc celles from themselves: But to come a little to Particulars. This Complaint is dated with one Confen from the Battle of Almanza, and yet, in all Reason they ought to have look'd back at least one Year further For 'tis yet a Secret how the mighty Advantage we had over the Enemy upon raising the Siege of Barcelona came to end as it did, when we had fo fair a Prospect of making an entire Conquest of the whole Kingdom: why don't they ask, What was the true Reason that oblig'd K. Charles to lofe fix Weeks at Barcelona, when he should have been haftening to Madrid? Why my Lord G. and the Portuguese General, who lay so long in the Neighbourhood of Madrid, could have no Intelligence from those who commanded in Catalonia? Why, when King Charles did at last march to join the Portuguese, his Orders were not obey'd, when he defir'd that all the Troops that could be drawn together should be sent to reinforce those he had with him, which might have enabled him to give the French a Battle, and have ended the War on that fide at once? And as to the whole Conduct of the War in Catalonia, to the End of that Year, why don't they ask, What Care was taken in transmitting Muster-Rolls, and what became of the Money issued for Why the Pay for full Companies was given to the Captains, when they had not ten, nay fome not five Men in them; which made the Spanish Service to beneficial to the Officers, that they return'd home full of Money, a Thing very uncommon in Soldiers, and of which among the inferiour Officers in the Flanders-Army, 'tis nor easie by all I have ever heard, to find a fingle Inflance? One would think when fo much Complaint is made upon this Subject these were proper Points to be enquir'd into; which, as great a Secret

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Secret as they are at present, may one Day be laid open, fo as every body may be able to fee what Neglect there has been and whose Door it lies at: But to come to the Battle of Almanza, from which their Conplaints are dated, what occasion'd the Lois of that Battle, or which comes to the same thing, what gave the French that great Superiority of Troops, I have told you before, it was the Reinforcement which the French by the Evacuation of the Milaneze, were at Liberty to lend from Italy to Spain; a Thing which in Enaland we did not know till it was too late to fence against it. What Pains had been taken here at home. to enable K Charles to recover the Ground he had loft upon his Retreat from Madrid, has been to well thewn in an Answer I have read to that Part of Faults on Both sides which relates to this Matter, that I shall beg Leave to refer you to it.

As to the general Scheme of the War on that Side, and the Provision made for it, let those who clamour upon this Head show us that they disapproved it, and let them tell us what they thought wrong, and how they would have had it mended, and then we may think for once there is some Sincerity in what they say; but till then I shall take leave to suspest all they say on this Head is only an Invention so insule groundless Prejudices into the People against their best Briends. And for my own part, I am fully perswaded that these Writers, or thole at least whose Tools they are, have been long convincid, from all the Experience we have had of the. Spanish War, and particularly from the Battle of Almanza, and what follow'd upon it, that the best thing for England. is to draw the War on that Side into the least Compasi we conveniently can, and keep on the Defensive only, contenting our felves with maintaining the Footing we had got, without pretending to more than to be in a Readiness to vay hold of any favourable Opportunity of Action, which either the Weakness or Negligences or ill Conduct of the Enemy, might offer, or which we might be invited to by the Encouragement gir ven m by those that are in the Austrian Interest Thin I date lay schole Gentlemen think is the true feet weathante

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out the Spanish War upon : and that it should be diefy sai ried on by taking Foreign Troops into our pay, and not employing our own Men, which can't be done wishout she greisell Inconveniencies; besides that, at this Time, they may, 'ii plain be much more affully employed nearer home; and cherefore I can think nothing to be farther from these Meni Thoughts than what is fo much in their Mouths, that this War bas been negletted, and that greater Provision ought to bave been made for se : My Reason why I think them so infinceres is plainly this; that they can't but know the great Difference there is between an Offensive and Detensive War, and that what they feem to contend for is impractivable, and the most effectual Way we can taken never to have what their Writers and sheir Priends pretend to be fo migheily concern't for : It's to evident to all that know any thing of thefe Mai ters, upon how unequal a foot the French and we must make an Offenfive War in that Country; But nothing can make chis to plain as to put a Gafe to you.

Suppose then, to bumour these Men, we were to fend from hence an Augmentation of 20000 Men, or for our own Share 10000, so Catalonia, shall we not then bave 10000 less in Flanders, and may not the French lesson their Army there by the same Number? Suppose then the French and we both would fend an Augmentation of 10000 Men thither, let us fee what will be the Confequence: The Men we fond will be transported at a very great Gharge, and we can never make any tolerable Guels when they will come thisber, and confequently can be fure of nothing, that depends upon their Arriwall which may be near a Twelvemonth from the Time they lay ready to embark; and when Deductions we made for Sichnels and Defermin, while they he as Portimouth, waising for Ships and Winds and for what Numbers of them may die at Sear in so long a paffage, especially if any matignant Defleniper get among them, when we confider bow unable these Men will be for Stivide, upon landing after so long a Voyage, which will make it ablolusely necollary for stem to go into Quarters of Refreshments before they sake the Fields the Change they have of arriving at the mast unshelfome Seafon of the Year, the Difference of that Olimate trom sal-

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from our own in all Scalons, the Numbers that will be freedo eway by drinking immoderately, the firing Spanish Wines. which the impassible to keep Men from, when they are only to be come at, and the intemperate eating of rich fruits, which are always very fatal to an Army, the many Men that will be lost by maroding in a firenge Country, before they know where they are, a Word Soldiers are well acquainted with and by which an Army lofes more Men than can be eafly imagin'd by chafe who are Strangers to thefe Matters; when allthose things are consider d, after so much Expence and Time, I believe, our 10000 at the End of two Months, after abeir Arrival, will, upon a modest Computation, be found not to exceed 4000 Effective. Lite us now fee what will betome of those Men France fends: They may be ferob'd from Dauphine and that Neighbourhood, and their Place may be supply'd from the Rhines and theirs again from Flanders : They may be fent at the most proper Seafon of the Year; their March may be made in a Month or for Weeks; their Areaval may be whomin to a Day, and all things may be concerted against the Time they shall be fit to enter upon Attion. Their Transportation costs nothing; and when they arrive. ibey are what they fet oues 10000 Men; and the Wina. and Fruits, and Chimate, are fo fittle different from their own, that 'ch very little they fuffer from them. I may add. obat sheir Religion procures them bester Quarter from the Peafants of the Country, than Hereticks can hope for, which makes no theonfiderable Difference : So that to France 'ik in a manner the fame thing in all Respects to send Men to Spain as 'sh to Flanders; but to us, 'the not only a wall Expense; but almost all to no Purpole.

But this is not all; I would ask these Gentlemen, how these Troops when they came to Spain shall subsist; how they shatt get Horses, or find Forage, or he provided with sufficient Magazines? They that know any thing of Spains can sell them, (but I know they don't want to be told) that the Country is not able to subsist its own Inhabitants, much less an Army of Foreign Troops, those Parts especially that we in our Hands: And I have theard that one great Reason for wenturing the Basiste of Alswanza was, that as few Troops as 'ell said we

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had there, they were too many to subsist, and that they must bave starv'd if they had not fought. Now if the Country mon't furnish Necessaries, whence are they to be fetch'd? Why, either from England or Italy; except fome fmall matter that may be bad from the Coasts of Africk. And is not this a pretty Method to subfift an Army? Ask those who know any thing of our Flanders-Armies, what would become of shem, if Bread and Forage were to be brought to them by Sear from Places 30, 50, or 100 Leagues from them? Ask them, what Straits they are put to, when only a little Bad Weather has spoils the Roads, tho' their Magazines be but four or five Leagues from them? Ask them, how inconvenient in general 'tis for them, when they can't be supply'd by Water with the things they want, tho' Flanders be the finest Country in the World to fubfift an Army in, 'tis fo fruitful in Corn, fo full of good Towns, and affords fo great a quantity of Wheel Carriage. Ask but thefe Queftions, and you will be prefently convinc'd, bow difficult it must be to subfist an Army in Catalonia, when a great part of their Subsiffance must be brought by Sea. and from Places fo remote; and the little the Country it felf affords, muß be fetch'd oftensimes a great way, and over such Mountains, as no Carriages can pafs; all muß be brought by Mulet, which coff a great deal, and are not to be bad for Money, in such Numbers, as a very moderate Army has occasion for. In there, to Subfis any Army in this Country is very difficult; they must often be in that great danger of farving, while they depend on Winds and Seas for their Provisions; and to subfift a great one, which Eng shele Gentlemen would feem to argue for, is absolutely impossiffu"

Let us now fee how it fands with France in this Point : Even as well as they can wish; for 'eis a very short Paffage from Marfeilles and Toulon to Roles and other Ports on that fide of Spain, and the Provinces of France that lye nearest so their own Ports, are extreamly fruitful, fo that Magazines may be erected in them with all the ease imaginable; and when the Winds won't let their Ships come out, which does not bappen very often, they have at Referve in Cafe of Neceffery, and can supply their Tro-ps by Land, Such a produgiug

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Nedigi-0116 em Advantage has France over us in making War on that fide, even upon Supposition of maintaining but a moderate Army there, that Shall ad offenfively, and be to make great Marches in fo barren a Country; and if we would fend a great one thither, (not that I think any Army could be very great by the Time it was there) thefe Inconveniencies would encreafe in a double Proportion at least; that is, fending twice the Number would be attended with four times the Difadvantages, thrice the Number with fix times, and fo on; but this is To plain that I can't think it needs any farther Illustration; Need I add, bow hard it is to recruit the Troops in this Service, which one may be fure finds no Voluntiers; and those the Law would give to it, will of two Evils be glad to choose the leaft, and to prevent being fent to Spain, will Lift themletves in any other Service.

Besides, when these Recruits are rais'd, how shall they be fent? In small Numbers by the Packet-boats? But how often are they taken? And when they come to Lisbon, how shall they get on to Catalonia? And if they are kept till they can have the Opportunity of a Convoy. how long will they be wanted, and how infenfibly will they moulder away, while they lie expecting the Time they to little with for ? And is not this a bleffed Place to push the War in, where a great Army can neither be had, nor subfifted, nor recruited, without the utmoft Difficulties, the greatest Hazards, and perpetual Dilappointments ? I know but one fure Effect of fuch a War, & that is, that were it constantly fed, it would soon eat up ill our Men : For every twenty effective Men in Spain, England loses at least threescore : And our Treasure flu'd for that Service, we shall have reason to think. inks in the same Proportion as our Men do, if we conider the Expences of Transportation, and of Supplies fige lent from hence, the Danger they go in from the Ene 83 022 mies Ships of War and Privateers, the Exchange of Money between England and Genoa, the excessive Price which Things will cost that are bought there for Cataand lonia by the time they get thither, the Charge we are at to get Horses for our Cavalry, which one with another,

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cost as much as five feat to Elenders. A flight Wiew of thefe and the other necessary Areicles besides the standing wast Expense of maintaining to great a Part of our Fleet in the Mediterranean, will carily flew you, that to extend this War would ferve to little elfe but to exhauft us of our Money, as well as Men. In fhort both Men and Money thrink almost to nothing, when they come thither, in comparison of what they were when they went from us: From all which I can't but conclude. That nothing can be greates Nonfenie or rather greater Villany, then what these Writers, or those that direct them, tell us upon this Head: For they know all this to be true, that there is no Preferee for the Complaints they make of the War on this fide having been neglected, but that on the contrary, nothing can he forumous to England, as the Measures they would hurry us into. We can't have a better View, with what de a Difadvantage we make an Offentive War in Spain than our Affairs there give us at this Time, when the su greatest Advantages are lost, thro the utter Inability In we are in to support them; for we can neither fend de them timely Help, nor fo much as know what it is they full want. Which by the ways is another Circumstance, ou that ought to cure us of our Fondness for this War. The no French King can hear from thence in as few Days as we to commonly do in Weeks; and that regularly; whereas fel we are always at lincertainties. This we are all at pre-net tent fentile of: The Impatience we have for these tour fer Months and more been in, to know what our Friends Pe are doing there, makes every body feel the want we no have of Intelligence from those Parts; we know not him but what the Erend are pleas'd to tell us, who I'l won't lose, we may be fure, the Opportunity to im-ho won't lofe, we may be fure, the Opportunity to impose upon us what they think, most for their Purpose which makes it impossible, even for the New Mto take the proper Measures to support our Troops. would all Relief from hence must have come roo late to enable

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enable our Men to keep the Ground they had with so much Glory gain'd, and thus it must always be, unless we would foresee, some Time before, when a Battle will be loft or won, and provide accordingly; otherwise ein the mean while, have it in their power to shape their Meafures, as the Exigencies of Affairs require; of which we have feen a melancholly Infrance in the Support they have given the D. of Anjen, when his Affairs feem'd to be desperate and past Remedy. They can hear quickly. have the means to support him always near, and can concert things with that Exactnels, as to make them all hear to a Point; whereas we can neither know nor do what we would; and the Uncertainty our Preparations are unavoidably attended with, makes it impossible to depend on them, or to concert any Measures against what such or fuch a Time, if they must wait the Arrival of pain. succours or Supplies from England for their Execution. the In a word, all things conspire to make Spain at the least ility defirable of all Places to puth the War in; and one fend they ought rather to wonder we have been able to maintain our Ground there so well, than complain that more has not been done, or pretend I know not what Neglects s we to account for it : The thing is fo plain, it speaks it neres felf; the Dutch are to convinc'd of it, that they have t pre-never, for these three Years past, been prevailed with to four send any fresh Troops thither; England only is to be riends perswaded into these wise Measures, as if we could e we not be ruin'd fast enough.

no. If you have any Doubts about the Truth of any thing who I have faid on this Head, I will put you into a Way im- how you may easily inform your felf: Get a Sight of pofe the Accounts of the leveral Embarkations that have been made for Spain, both before and fince the Battle of as we the Encampments of the Troops to go on board, and late to their taking the Field in Catalonia: Inquire into the enable Numbers the Regiments confilted of when they march'd for these Encampments, and how strong they were when they join'd our Army: Ask some of the Officers of the fix Regiments that were broke into others, a little before the Battle of Almanza, how many private Men they left when they came away, and some of them will tell you that their Regiments had not above so Men in them and some not so many. I can't suppose you will pretend these Inconveniencies arise from any Neglect in the Admiralty, because that is no Part of the Complaint these Gentlemen make, and you know the Sea Affair whave generally been in the same Hands which we are at present so much pleas'd with. If this be then a true of State of this Matter, I can compare Mens being fond of enlarging the Scheme of the War in Spain, to not thing but to Shakespear's strange Alacrity in Sinking; the for sink we shall, and that very fast, if the Advice of these Writers be pursu'd.

these Writers be pursu'd.

But if this be the Case, you will say, Why then did it we at first begin a War in Catalonia, or have not long since quitted it? This admits of a very easie Answer, if we look back into the Posture of Affairs at that Time and confider what it was we propos'd by making War on that Side, and what were the true Reasons that engag'd its in it: Such an Enquiry will shew you it was begun with the most promising Appearances in Favour of it, could we but succeed in the first Step; and the they have not answer'd our Expectations, yet when so good Footing was once got, we neither cou'd nor ought to have quitted our Ground. When the Forces which began that War were first embark'd, 'twas very difficult to determine at this distance, which was most for the Service of King Charles and the Common Cause, to land in Catalonia, or attempt to give some Relief to the Duke of Savoy, which he was at that time in the greatest Want of; the Decision of this was left to the two Kings of Portugal and Spain, and their Ministers, who were best able to judge what Part was best to take; and after the Matter had been thoroughly consider do twas resolv'd for Catalonia, upon the pressing Instances of King Charles, and the many and repeated Assurances that

of the that had been given him of the good Dispositions of before the Spaniards to declare for him, as soon as he should eveles have any firm Footing in Spain, and be in a Conditibility on to protect them. For we did not pretend to conthem, quer Spain, or to force a Revolt upon them, but to I pre-sayour one, supposing them inclined to it; and what lect in made the Experiment the more worth trying, was the plaint desperate Condition of Affairs in Italy, which this Affain was thought the likeliest Way to give some Relies to, are at by obliging the French to take off a Part of that weight a true of Troops with which the Duke of Savoy was so viotently press d: Bessles, you may remember that at the to no. Time this War in Caralonia was begun, we had not king; the least Prospect of making such mighty Conquests in vice of Flanders, which was every such of it in the French Hands; and 'twas more than any body cou'd tell, when it wou'd be otherwise, much less cou'd they hope to see long any possibility of Penetrating into France on that side, which we have had since the Ramellies Campaign so Time sair a Prospect of These Circumstances of Assairs, the Appearance there was of loting all in Italy, and of at engetting nothing in Planders, made it very reasonable it was for us to try the Inclinations of the Spaniards, and at they answer'd better the Assurances that had de the been given, whatever Body of Troops had for once been carry of thither, had doubtless been very well emought ploy'd, to give them Countenance.

These were the Motives, upon which the War was should be used the said of the ploy'd, to give them Countenance.

These were the Motives, upon which the War was should be used to the said of the ploy'd, to give them Countenance. Hands; and 'twas more than any body cou'd tell, when

or the have convinced People, that Spain might not have been ie, to had for going for; especially when those who were pre-lief to um'd to be the best Judges, were so sure of the Success, in the to that nothing could have justify'd our not making to the the Tryal; whatever had been faid against it, would affer, not have been believ'd, while the Inconveniences of take; this War had not yet been felt, and for that Reason der'd, could not be so certainly judg'd of.

These were great inducements to try what might be done tances there; and the first Attempt met with Success; for the E-that may not being prepar'd for us, and the People on that side being

being

being pretty much in our Intereft. Barcelona foon fell in the to our Hands, and all Catalonia with it; and we gain'd Tre Footing enough to encourage a Revolt in the other Kingdom, ke but not to force one, unless they had been more dispos'd u mi it themselves : In which Point no body wants to be sold, the de fail'd. But the this Consequence, which we bop'd for from jeb our Success, did not follow from it, the Advantage we had W gain'd was too confiderable to be parted with; for by being of Mesters of Barcelona, we kept up Life in our Friends, and on gave a perpetual Alarm to our Enemies, who were by the 84 Situation of ours, oblig'd to leffen confiderably their Army on Pi she fide of Portugal, which one might have expected would in bave turn'd to a better Account than it did, and wou'd bave ly. enabl'd the Portuguele to have made fome Impression on wi Spain. But that is not all, as long as we had such a Foot ming, and the Enemy could not depend on the Inclinations it the People to the Duke of Anjou, which by what they had m feen in Catalonia, they bad reafon to be very apprebenfin Si of, they were forc'd to employ an Army, much superiour i of ours, to observe our Motions, not knowing to which side we for might turn our felves, or where an Infurrection might bred co out in favour of us. And befides the Distraction, Uncafinefi of and great Expense this new War created the Duke of Anjou. g and his Adberents, it oblig a him to discover bie Distrust of in the Spaniards more than be bad done before; and to shew st be thought himself safe only in French Armies, as well a ni French Councils, which could not but make a great des in of ill Blood, the not so much as might bave been bop'd for yo were no flight Reasons for maintaining the Footing we has y in Catalonia; much more will you think for when you re a A.A, that this little Piece of Spain bad four Tears ago let # into a full Possession of the Whole, had not a most fatal and a unaccountable Mismanagement ruin'd all; not to infift of ] Several other good Effects; Such as keeping his Moliness, and t ebe other Italian Princes in awe, who discover'd but to enuch Inclination to a League with France, the clarming al the Southren Coft of France, and giving Encouragement to which rections of good outs kind , on not blacking prior or Sbeyon

Il in thewn they would fir if they could ; vubich created a fresh gain'd Trouble and Expence to the French King. by obliging bim to doms keep Troops on shat fide, to no other end, but to observe the 'd u motions of bis oven Subjects; and in the last place, badit fuc-, the meded, 'sis to this we had own'd the Whole of the Grand Profrom jest againft Toulon. Thefe are fuch Advamages of the Spanith e bad War as will sufficently justify the begining and pursuing being of it in the manner we have done, especially fince the Reduction of Minorca has made it to lafe and easy to keep a good s, and y this Squadron all the Year in the Mediterranean. But thefe THE Y OR Purpoles are all answer'd, vubile we confine that War withwould in moderate Bounds, and pretend to keep on the Defenfive on d bave ly. There is no need of enlarging the Scheme of the War, vubich instead of doing Service to the Gommon Caufe, would on on Footmake so lofe several of the Advantages we bave by it, while ons e it lies in a narrowy Compais, and viguld endanger wubat we y bad might maintain, wibile we extend our felves beyond our Strength, and grafp at more than we can bold; befides the benfive other great Inconveniences, which I have thewin you, mul 04T 1 follows the making an Offenfive War on this fide, wwbich de vu t break can never poffibly succeed unless the Caffilians voeremore afinefi our Friends, or more wwere to be expected from the Portus mjou quefe Andeven a Defensive War, Experience bas heven us, & much better earry'd on by Foreign Troops, which not only rust of o flew foares our Mets but faves a great deal of Money, and much more convenient for the Servee, the Paffage bewell a at deal ing fa much (horter from Italy than it is from England. And p'd for yet ove all feer that notwithstanding the Endeavours to support allow King Charles upon his late Victories, no Reinforcement has yet been fent him, even from thence, as feafable as it feems, ve bas you re and as great Occasion as he has for them; and the Reinforcement that was laft fent, 'tis known did not arrive till the o let # tal and middle of lune tho' it was intended and order'd, that they should be there in January. Thus difficult it has been to mainnfift of and tain this War on the Foot it has ben hitherro upon; and from but to Experience ove may be fure, thu it will be, and overfa, ning a proportionably woorse, as uve enlarge is. And therefore I nent 1 can't think, any body does in earnest mean more, than to do d long wubat wee defign, without lofs of time, but not to depen Shewvi

more than is absolutely necessary, or to extend the Compass and Lanence to, the

of the War. But they tell us, there is a Necessity for it, and that Spain is not otherwife to be had . But why for Have they never heard in Phyfick of fuch a Term, as Revulfion, which teaches to remove the Evil from one pare by proper Applications, not to the Part it felf, but to its Opposite? Or have they not to much Mechanicks, as Children can teach them, who if they would throw down B, which is at the Top of A, land out of their Reach, will prefencly try if they can't pull down A

They know almost by Instinct, that this all one when ther you pull down B directly, or that which supports it. And 'tis the fame thing with Spain; if that Kingdom be ever recovered, it must be by proper Applications to France, all the World fees, is the Support

of the Duke of Anjon, and if this Support be forced from him, he will as farely rumble, as if you cou'd pull him with your Hands from the Throne he has ufurp d. Since therefore we can't reach him, we should fet our felves

with all our Might to pall from him his Support, and then he must fall on courses How near even have been fucceeding in this, you can't vyant to be told. And howy it came not to be quite done, your Friends knowy

evithout being told; and hove much foever they may like the Reason of this, I'm persuvaded they don't much like to hear of it. And if Spain be not gain'd

this yvay, one may without the Spirit of Prophecy foresel, it never will be gain'd at all.

Read now again thele admir'd Pamphlets, and when their general Declamations have amus'd you, and you begin to think there is something in them, then turn to this true State of the Cale, and the Mist they have cast before you will vanish; their Harangues will leave no more Impression upon you, than the famous Doctor's Speech does upon those that look into his Sermon. But inflead of those Impressions, I cannot but think there will remain upon your Mind, as there does on mine, an utter Deteffation and Abhortence of the black Vil-12 (9)

lany

lany and Malice some Men have us'd to ruin the Reputation of the ablest and most saithful Ministers, and to hazard every thing that is dear to us as Englishmen and Protestants, rather than not compass their own. destructive Ends.

I remember, I have often thought, upon the late intended Invation of the Pretender, that it was on his part a very foolish Enterprize; for the it might answer the Purpoles of France, and force us to an till Peace, it could hardly fail to end in the Ruin of him and his Friends. And I am of the same Opinion with respect to our Domestick Invaders, if I may use that Expression; the Publick indeed may suffer by them, as much as France can wish, but if it should have the good Fortune to escape the Danger, it is threatned with; the Attempt that has been made upon it will, I am perswaded, sooner or later bring inevitable Ruin upon themselves.

But we are both, I dare fay, sufficiently tir'd for one time; I shall therefore take leave of you for the present, with Affurances that you shall, in a very little

time, hear again from,

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have leave ctor's But there mine, Vil-lany

SIR.

Your most faithful,

acting in the II and commended.

Post-

ons ordinate the Post cript. Ince these Papers were in the Piels, the all News is come of a Battle loft in Spain after the Glorious Actions of Alma nara and Saragossa; Two Victories so great in themselves, and in the Consequence of them, that they might have been decifive of the War, if the Portuguese had join'd which I am very forry they did not, for the fake of the common Caule, and even of the young General himself, so justly applanded for his fearless Zeal both in Fighting and Speaking for the Service of his Country, Buttho' this unfortunate Battle has too much justify'd what I have faid against enlarging the Scheme of the War in that Country, I ftill hope we may be in a condition not much worle than last You and able to continue acting in the Bafestone commer I have recommended.

Note, That the Second Part is now in the Piels, and will be Publish'd next Week

> ASEM LEGON EN THE OWNER PORT OF THE PERSON NAMED IN